

more attractive to invest now. And if we could get a lot of this done while the economy is growing, I think the benefits to America could be permanent. I think, in that sense, it's the perfect public/private partnership example that I've been trying to develop all along. I'm really excited about it. I'm just—it's a real dream of mine to prove this can be done.

Ms. Page. You'll apparently be the first sitting President to ever go to an Indian reservation.

The President. Is that right?

Ms. Page. I think so.

The President. It's high time. I'm sorry it has taken me so long, because I spent a lot of time with Native American leaders. I went to reservations back in '92, and I spent enormous time with the leaders of the tribes over the last 6½ years. So I'm very excited about going.

Ms. Page. Some people would say you've done a lot—you've focused on empowerment zones; you've focused on some of these problems of poverty, people who haven't participated in the economic good times—but that we haven't heard so much about it lately, '95, '96. Why now? Why is now the time to put this kind of spotlight on the places that remind people that the economic prosperity hasn't been good for everybody?

The President. Two reasons. One is, I think that there is a feeling that the prosperity of the country is broadly shared, and that's right. We've got the lowest minority unemployment rates we've recorded. In the last couple of years, we've finally started to close the inequality gap. We've had substantial increases in wages for people in the lower 40 percent of our earnings. And there's a level of security about the direction of our economy that I think frees people in a way to think about those things that are still not done, because I think most Americans genuinely want to see everybody who is willing to work have a chance to participate in this.

Secondly, I believe that it's an essential component of my effort to keep this economy growing without inflation, as I said. In other words, I think moving people from welfare to work is a moral imperative; but I also think it's very good for the economy. I think giving disabled people a chance to take their Med-

icaid and get in the work force is morally right—I also think it's very good for the economy. And I think this could be even better for the economy, and it's certainly morally right.

We tried to do this in the past, and we've gotten kind of sporadic publicity for it. But we worked consistently at it. It's one of the many things that I asked the Vice President to lead. But he has done a superb job of this, and he's been systematic and disciplined. And just slowly, slowly, slowly over the last 6 years, I think we have completely satisfied that a lot of these communities, if they can get enough investment, can really take off and do well.

So I think that the timing is really right now for America to think about this as sort of the next economic agenda.

Campaign Financing

Ms. Page. I know we have to leave, but speaking of economic good times, George Bush has raised \$36 million so far in the first half of this year. What do you think about that? Do you think this has gotten out of—spiraled out of control? Or is this not—what do you think? It just seems like a stunning number today.

The President. It's a big number, but you've got to remember, Republicans have more money than Democrats and they always promise upper income people bigger tax cuts. And he's the Governor of Texas; his brother is the Governor of Florida; and they've been out for 8 years, and they want in. So all those reasons mean big numbers.

But what did he raise in Texas? Eleven million?

Ms. Page. I don't know.

The President. When I ran in '92—8 years ago—in a State of 2.5 million people, with a lower per capita income and not nearly as many millionaires, we raised \$4 million. That would be the equivalent of \$20 million or more in Texas.

So he's got a lot going for him. He's a Governor of a State; his brother is a Governor of a State; his father was President. They want to win; they've got more money than we do anyway. So I think that it's a credit to—he's got good people raising that money,

obviously, but I'm not at all surprised they've raised that kind of money.

2000 Election

Ms. Page. It's early, though, it's very early—which also raises the point that conventional wisdom probably told us the Democratic nomination would be sewed up at this point, but the Republican wouldn't and it's actually the opposite—it appears to be actually perhaps the opposite of that. What do you—

The President. I don't know, it just depends, you know. It depends—the voters in Iowa and New Hampshire will not be as influenced by the money, probably, just because there's only so many of them; there's only so much you can—but I think the real problem for all these guys, and one reason they can compellingly go out and raise this money—I mean, arguably, if you're talking about the money Bradley raised, he was a national figure for longer than any of the other people running in the Republican primary, except for Elizabeth Dole—maybe she was. But she was in the Cabinet, but Bradley was a nationally known figure for 18 years in the Senate, from the day he got there, and traveled the country extensively all that time building a network, for all 18 years. So I'm not particularly surprised that he's raised a good deal of money.

But I think that—to go back to the main point—one of the reasons all these people can compellingly argue that they need to get out and raise this money early is that, unfortunately, it not only gets more and more expensive to advertise with every election cycle, the States at the back end get more and more anxiety-ridden, so they keep moving their dates up. So this whole thing gets more and more and more frontloaded.

And one of the interesting things to me would be—I do not know the answer to this. I'll start by saying I do not know the answer to this, but when you write the history of this election in the primary process, it will be interesting to see whether or not, even though the small States have retained their early status, which I happen to think is quite a good thing—having been through it, I think it's a good thing, because I think it's terrible that when you get all these primaries—peo-

ple running for President from tarmac to tarmac, they will run about the States; they don't really listen to the people's voices, their concerns, and when it's all said and done, they haven't learned as much about the country as they should.

If you have to run in Iowa and New Hampshire, you've got to know things. You've got to take time. You've got to listen and so forth. So I believe in that. But anyway, it will be interesting to see when the history is written whether you and other observers conclude that their relative influence has declined anyway, simply because as soon as you turn around, everybody else is voting.

When is this whole thing over now? March? April? Mid-April? Keep in mind, on June 2nd in 1992—June 2nd—you had California, New Jersey, and Ohio. When are they all voting now? March?

Ms. Page. Yes.

The President. So I just don't know. I'm not particularly surprised about the amount of money anybody has raised.

Ms. Page. Are you concerned that it's bad news for Gore?

The President. Oh, no. I don't think that at all. I don't think that at all. I mean, I think the Republicans are going to raise more money than us. They outspent \$100 million last year. They take care of their interest groups. The NRA's going to give them a ton of money. Look what they've done on the Patients' Bill of Rights. Everybody in the world with an opinion is for the Patients' Bill of Rights, except one, who is health insurance. But the health insurance might wind up giving more money in the election cycle than all the 200 groups that are for us. And so, that's the dynamic of modern politics. And their whole strategy is to rake in that dough and to dominate the communications.

It does not matter in our politics if your opponent outraises you if you raise enough. The only issue in modern politics is whether you have enough. And keep in mind, in the primary process—unless Governor Bush is going to slow the campaign finance law and not take any matching funds—in the primary process, the only thing that really matters is whether you can raise all the money you need

before the first primary starts so you can rationally plan how to spend it during the remainder of the primary season. Because there's a ceiling on how much you can raise in order to get the matching funds in all of the campaign finance system.

So he shouldn't—nobody else should be worried about that. The only people who should be worried are people who aren't going to have enough to get their message out, and the fact that early money normally means you've got big political support. What you're seeing in the Republicans now is a little bit what you saw in '92—we'd been out a long time, and we wanted to get in. And Governors can raise more money than Senators—especially Governors of big States.

I'm not too surprised he's got all that money. But it's not bad news for the Vice President, because he's doing very well and he's got all he needs and he's going to get his money by the time he needs it. I think you will—my gut feeling is that you will not see that have an appreciable impact on the outcome of the election.

Ms. Page. Before he actually grabs our arm and drags us out here, I guess we've got to go.

The President. I'm glad you're covering these things, though. This is really important. This new markets thing is big, and the Medicare thing is big. It gives us a chance to really do something important. Thanks.

Ms. Page. Thanks a lot.

The President. Get some sleep. I'm really sorry I kept you waiting.

Senate Seat in Arkansas

Ms. Page. Oh, it's fine. So, can we get a firm and final no from you that you're not going to run for Senate? I know it sounds crazy, but that's not exactly a firm and final, absolute no.

The President. Yes. I have to go out and make a living for my family, and that is—and I'm going to spend the first 2 years organizing my life, doing my memoirs, and finishing my library. That's what I'm going to be doing. I'm not running for the Senate. I was—

Press Secretary Joe Lockhart. Sounds firm to me.

The President. I don't even know where that story came from. I think the story—the guy that reported the story first said someone said they mentioned it to me and I didn't say no. I don't even remember anybody mentioning it to me. But it's not—I had a lot of people in Arkansas ask me if I'd come home and run for Governor, every time I go home. And I tell them that we've got to get a young crop up there and put them in there. I'm not in—I'm not going to do that.

NOTE: The interview began at 11:55 p.m., e.d.t., while en route from Chicago, IL, to Washington, DC. In his remarks, the President referred to Governors George W. Bush of Texas and Jeb Bush of Florida; Richard L. Huber, chairman and chief executive officer, Aetna, Inc.; civil rights leader Jesse Jackson; Al From, president, Democratic Leadership Council; Richard Grasso, chairman and chief executive officer, New York Stock Exchange; former Senator Bill Bradley; and former president of the American Red Cross, Elizabeth Dole. This interview was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 2. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Memorandum on a Military Drawdown for Tunisia

July 1, 1999

Presidential Determination No. 99-32

Memorandum for the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense

Subject: Military Drawdown for Tunisia

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Title III (Foreign Military Financing) of the Foreign Operations, Exporting Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1999, as enacted in Public Law 105-277 (Title III), I hereby direct the drawdown of defense articles from the stocks of the Department of Defense, defense services of the Department of Defense, and military education and training of an aggregate value of \$5 million for Tunisia, consistent with the authority provided under Title III, for the purposes of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.